

361 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and
351 these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all Okinawans, the place is sabishii.⁶

366 Since there is little activity in the village other than farming,
368 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

127 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11,
362 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.⁷ One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs. War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

133
361 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134
133 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731
133
417 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362
512
484 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438
[311] The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoyan about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day. The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are also made to Itoyan to see relatives and friends.

727
[361] The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro. Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

standing. At one time, the Minatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Minatogawa became a forward loading point.¹⁰ The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagano is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Minatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yabbaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

[Text continues TOP of P. 55--ANALYST]

¹⁰ The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

36 | traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically
311 | inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the
[491] | main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened
[494] | since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheels
cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned
sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

127 | Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence, many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved. Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

136 | The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the
142 | diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of Oki to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar protection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

2

The Courtyard or Compound

The usual present day Okinawan dwelling is in an inclosed courtyard or compound. This varies in size. The average size of these house sites (yashiki in Japanese) is shown in the following table: 351

	Area in Tsubo	Approximate Equivalent in Acres
Nanashiro	184.3	0.15
Minatogawa	70.7	0.06
Matsuda	116.4	0.10

a/ Computed from lists of village house sites in the land registers of each township. The conversion figure of 1210 tsubo (about four square yards) to the acre has been used.

The traditional house site has definite characteristics, obscured in present day Okinawa because of the war destruction. In the rebuilding, much of the housing and the outlying sheds were of poor quality. They are difficult to classify, except in a general category such as shacks or shanties. [362]

The house site, surrounded by its shrubs, trees, or stone fence and with the hinpun at the entrance, or the open side, forms a private courtyard with the buildings arranged around the three sides. There are a large number of possible combinations. A compound in which the house is located across the back part of the site, its front facing the hinpun and the road or lane is typical. On either side, there might be a combined outside toilet and pig or goat pen, or separate buildings for the toilet and the pigs or goats, a food storehouse, and a tool shed. The auxiliary buildings are small, and more correctly should be described as sheds. The outside toilet, with a dirt, stone block, or cement floor, is usually small with one or two holes in the floor. It is used in a squatting position. [343]

All kinds of variations from this description can be observed at will. In the fishing village of Minatogawa, the compound is open. Little hedges a foot or so high or small rock borders take the place of the dense shrubs and trees of another site. Lines are stretched out in the yard. Nets are hanging, and fish are drying on the mats in the courtyard. Sometimes, more out of convention than practical utility, there is a hinpun in front of a house that has no other construction to seal it off from view. And these hinpun might even be made of stray boards or of corrugated iron.

It is not unusual in a compound, in cases in which the house is small, for a young man of the house to have a small separate building. Here he has his blankets, personal articles, pictures clipped from 592
342

These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant) to bed with her in this room.

342
[353]
[513]

The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal.

[576]
[264]

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers; one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off.

354

[372]

The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.⁶ The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashida when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter.

342
[333]

[184]
[515]

Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of

[362]

⁶ Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

3

Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it.

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration; the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of miscanthus grass are joined together in a close relationship.

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and salt-water spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupation. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of

system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community. 156 [155]

The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other. 727 798 84

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young. [867] [593]

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder. [177]

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere. [362]

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change. [167] [177]

382 Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing

302
[305] for a shave; but since this happens only about once a week or less, they have a stubbly beard much of the time. Men have their hair cut infrequently. From adolescence on they prefer long and unwieldy hair, combed to one side.

Almost no women use lipstick, but a few put on rouge for special occasions. More and more of the younger women use some make-up when they travel to the city, in spite of rather rude teasing from other villagers that they look like prostitutes.

291
293 During the hot summer most people have straw sun hats which can be bought at the local store after the rainy season. They cost little and last until the end of the heat. Umbrellas are the only rain protection during wet days, since the raincoats and hats formerly made of palm thatch have almost completely disappeared.

DWELLINGS

342 All but two houses in Taira are postwar structures. The first postwar structures were small and hastily built of local, mostly inferior materials. In the last few years families have built more elaborate houses with several rooms, substantial walls and roofs, and made of quality Japanese hard woods, which will resist rapid deterioration. Only a few of the present houses, however, compare in size and workmanship with the large prewar farmhouses.

• [362] On the whole, housing in central Taira is inferior to outlying parts of the community and other surrounding villages. Two house types are found: the simple, temporary house or hut with two or three rooms and a kitchen, covered by a thatch roof; and the larger, more substantial house with either thatch or tile roof, four to six rooms and a kitchen.

[351] All houses have common characteristics. They are elevated from the ground so that a 20 to 24 inch space is left underneath the floor, which is sometimes used for the storage of potatoes and firewood. The floor plan is uniform for all houses of either type (Figure 1). Living rooms, also used for sleeping, are always located in the front part of the house. A smaller room located at the right rear of the house is used as a bedroom or for sick people and parturient mothers. The kitchen is on level ground so that a step has to be taken to enter the eating corner from the kitchen. Even the simplest huts have a thin wall which separates the rear bedroom and kitchen from the front part. All outside doors are sliding panels which move in a wooden track so that the whole front of the house may be opened. A visitor can tell immediately if somebody is home and, if an informal caller, will sit on the elevated

[Kanegusuku]

Non-cultivated land, however, is equally important to the average farm household in providing fuel, thatching, green manure, and many other necessities. 621 [311]

Land Holdings A breakdown of the 103 houses of Kanegusuku shows that 97 own land; 6 houses own no land of any type. Of the 103 houses, 56 rent land, and 6 of these rent all the land which they use. The remaining 50 own some land and rent some land. The figures are somewhat misleading, as included among the renters are those who rent only house lots; also included are some houses which have more than enough land for their own needs, but have rented plots contiguous to their main plots and in turn rent out their inaccessible plots to others. 621 423 427

In terms of total land per household 60% possess one or more acres of land which includes house lots, grass land, and forest in addition to cultivated fields. Nearly 73% of the village houses possess three-quarters of an acre or more of land which might arbitrarily be taken as the minimum necessary for mere existence, since farmers say that from 1000 to 2000 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre) are needed for the average family. This leaves 27% of the village or exactly 28 houses with insufficient land for their needs. An investigation revealed that 13 of these 28 "have-not" houses were new to the village since the war. This group includes former residents of other Okinawan communities as well as repatriate families, of which 4 can be classed as having insufficient land. Three of these 28 houses without sufficient land were headed by widows, and two of these significantly were women who were not residents of the village, so that they were without close relatives in the village to help them. One person, the sole occupant of his house, was mentally unfit to take care of his lands and was helped by relatives. The remaining 11 of these 28 houses were headed by persons who were old residents of the village, but of these 9 were houses headed by younger sons who had established independent branch houses since the end of the war. Thus, out of a total of 28 landless and virtually landless houses, only two were headed by first sons who were native to the village. Although this group constitutes but 27% of the houses, it rents 51% of all the land rented by villagers. 621 423 [427]

Fields There are on the average 11 plots of land per household in Kanegusuku; of these 6 are cultivated fields while the remainder are in grass land, house lot, and forest or wood land. The average rice field is a little over a quarter of an acre in size, whereas the average dry field is about one-sixth of an acre in size. [311] [241]

Owners The land records list 160 landowners in Kanegusuku; 146 of these now reside in the village and 14 are listed as absent. Since there are but 103 houses in the village, a number of houses have more than one landowner. This is in part a result of the war, which broke up a number of families by deaths and also caused a severe housing shortage; consequently, there is some doubling up in a number of houses. Another factor is that in the land-rich houses (comparatively speaking) a father often has set aside some land for his younger sons and has entered this land in their names even though they are still quite young. [422]